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ABSTRACT

A framework to address issues in collaboration between public schools and higher education is developed in this report. The relationships among social conditions and motivations are discussed, specifically, how the four social conditions are related to the five motivational factors and the "liability of newness." Four collaborative models based on the "liability of newness" framework are described: time allocation, incidental collaboration, joint governance, and consortium center. A conclusion is that the nature of a cooperative relationship depends on specific goals. The concluding section relates the framework and motivations to the four collaborative models, discusses specifics of the models in relationship to the four factors of "liability of newness," and relates 10 principles for collaboration from the literature to motivational conditions. Four figures are included. (31 references) (LMI)

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GAINING CONTROL OF THE PIECES:

SHARED GOVERNANCE THROUGH COLLABORATION

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GAINING CONTROL OF THE PIECES: SHARED GOVERNANCE THROUGH COLLABORATION

Introduction

Education has not been spared the well documented(e.g., Gardner, 1990; Bennis, 1989; Burns, 1978) general leadership crisis that is facing our nation. A major effect of this crisis is that education has been fragmented to the point of being almost unworkable. And, although there is little argument about the need for or value of collaboration to overcome this fragmentation, as attested by the scope and variety of collaborative efforts, ". . . . little is known about what these collaborative efforts look like, the forms they take, and how they come about" (Lieberman, 1986, p.6).[1] Corroborating the same line of thought, Hillman (1987) describes collaborative arrangements between universities and public schools as being in an embryonic stage with the problem being how to achieve successful collaborative relationships.

Although universities have long depended on public schools to place student teachers and interns as well as to provide settings for research, and schools have depended on universities to provide newly prepared educators, efforts over the years to improve the quality of cooperation between these institutions have not been based on true solidarity. As Williams (1986) has stated, "The public schools and the universities have proceeded with schooling quite independently of one another within boundaries intentionally drawn by both institutions" (p.3). In response to the recent barrage of criticism of schools and the preparation of educators, however, many in the field of education have begun to realize that significant improvements in schooling will require a team effort. There is a burgeoning body of literature in the field of education (e.g., Gifford, 1986; Lieberman, 1986; Goodlad, 1984; Tyler, 1983) which suggests that educational reform, seen by many as critical not only for the future of public education in America, but indeed, for the future of America, can best be accomplished through cooperative arrangements between and among institutions of higher education and the public schools. Indeed, Goodlad (1985, 1986) and others (e.g., Sizer, 1984) perceive the need for more and better cooperation between schools and universities to be so critical that they have funded a variety of collaborative efforts and even a network of such collaboratives.

The idea of cooperation or collaboration between different types of educational organizations is, of course, not new (Lieberman, 1986; Maeroff, 1983). What is new is the increased focus on the value and importance of collaboration between institutions of higher education and the public schools. With the public attention that has focused on education and the preparation of educators as a result of a variety of national reports (e.g., National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983; Task Force on Education for Economic Growth, 1983), collaboration is being viewed with a new urgency. As Bernard Gifford, Dean of the School of Education at the University of

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[1]We have selected the unit of analysis in this paper to be public school and university collaboration. This selection was made for reasons of time and space. We believe the framework developed will be equally useful with other units of analysis, e.g., public schools, universities and businesses. Further, we believe that success in fundamentally changing education will require collaboration among many sectors in our society.

California at Berkeley has remarked (1984), the education profession as a whole has long been marked by fragmentation and isolation, and efforts to revitalize any aspects of it must begin with a structure for rejoining those fragments.

Houston, in writing for the Research and Development Center for Teacher Education at the University of Texas, reported in 1979 that "the paucity of research on collaboration is astounding" (p.333). He further noted that although the literature is filled with case studies and observations describing "conditions, designs, and dreams," there is a critical need for research that addresses the structure of collaborative arrangements (organization, governance, management structure), problems of communication within and between organizations, and incentive and reward structures for the individuals involved in collaborative efforts. Ten years later, little clear understanding of these issues has emerged. As stated earlier,Lieberman (1986) reported that although the scope and variety of collaborative efforts attest to the pervasiveness of the collaborative ideal, "little is known about what these collaborations look like, the forms they take, and how they come about" (p.6).

The purpose of this paper is to describe a framework which can be used to address some of the issues raised by Hillman (1987), Lieberman (1986) and others. This paper is divided into three sections. The first section, Social Conditions and Motivations, describes the framework. The second section, Conditions, Motivations and Models, provides a description and analysis of four collaboration models using the framework. A final section, Conclusions, describes what can be learned about the four models of collaboration by using the framework.

Social Conditions and Motivations

The following framework was developed by using the ideas, with some modification, developed by Stinchcombe (1965). All new organizations face a number of different problems. Stinchcombe labels the problems as the new organizations' "liability of newness". Collaborative efforts by universities and public schools are new organizational forms and will encounter the "liability of newness." Stinchcombe identifies four aspects of the "liability of newness": We think these four aspects describe the social conditions confronting collaborative efforts.

Social Conditions

The four social conditions are related to "liability of newness" based in a most fundamental way on the degree of difference between the new organizational form and existing organizational forms. The four conditions are:

(a) "New organizations, especially new types of organizations, generally involve new roles, which have to be learned" (1965, p. 148).

(b) "The process of inventing new roles, the determination of their mutual relations and of structuring the field of rewards and sanctions so as to get maximum performance, have high costs in time, worry, conflict, and temporary inefficiency" (1965, p. 148).

(c) "New organizations must rely heavily on social relations among strangers" (1965, p.149).

(d) "One of the main resources of old organizations is a set of stable ties to those who use organizational services" (1965, p. 149).

In general, we can say, based on these social conditions, that the degree to which collaborative efforts attempt to create organizational forms which require behaviors from people that differ from the behaviors required in the organizations those people presently occupy, then the greater the degree of liability of newness. Put differently, within the proposed collaborative effort, the greater the number of new roles required, the lower the understanding of the nature of the new roles, the newer the interaction among the potential members, and the more significant the disruption of either products or services between existing organizations, then the greater the "liability of newness" of the collaborative effort.

Motivations

The four social conditions of liability are related to the motivations of people to create collaborative efforts. Stinchcombe identified five factors related to the motivations of people to create new organizations. "People form organizations when, a) they find or learn about alternative better ways of doing things that are not easily done within existing social arrangements; b) they believe that the future will be such that the organization will continue to be effective enough to pay for the trouble of building it and for the resources invested; c) they, or some group with which they are strongly identified, will receive some of the benefits of the better way of doing things; d) they can secure the resources of wealth, power, and legitimacy needed to build the organization and; e) they can defeat, or at least avoid being defeated by their opponents, especially those whose interests are vested in an old or established order" (1965, p.146).

To discuss the five factors and their relationship to the "liability of newness," we have conceptualized rewards in terms of their degree of concreteness (e.g., rewards that flow to the individual/professional, to the organization, and to the field). Thus, when we examine factor (a), the degree of knowledge of alternatives, as it is related to awareness, understanding, and conviction, we can categorize motivations. Some people will be motivated to create or join a collaborative effort based on an awareness, understanding, and conviction that the collaborative effort could be a specific way of doing things they must do that are either not possible under present social arrangements or very difficult. Other people will be motivated to join a collaborative effort, if the effort can be described in sufficient detail so that they can see it as an alternative for accomplishing tasks; that is to say, that they see potential for the collaborative effort, but do not attach it to a specific set of outcomes. These two sets of motivations are different, and although starkly drawn and perhaps oversimplified, the consequences are significant. Some people will be motivated to work toward the clarification of what will be the nature of the collaborative effort. (e.g., What kind of alternatives does it create for dealing with essential problems?) These people will be willing in the early stages to deal with a large amount of ambiguity about collaboration. Other people will not be as tolerant of the ambiguity because much of their motivation is created by seeing the collaborative effort as a clear alternative.

The effect of factor (b), predictable future benefits, includes both outcomes and benefits. Some people will be motivated to create a collaborative effort based solely on their belief that the effort will produce outcomes that may be beneficial. Put differently, these people will be reasonably convinced that the effort could produce outcomes. They are quite willing to create the collaborative effort on the assumption that the outcomes will have benefits; for example, the potential to create training materials that could train principals which could alter the instructional programs in schools. Other people will be motivated only by either a strong argument or direct evidence that the outcomes will be beneficial. In the example above, the potential training materials would not be sufficient motivation for these people. They would, in fact, have to be convinced of the benefits of the training materials.

The effects of factor (c), that some of the benefits occurring from the collaboration would be appropriated by some group with whom the creators are identified, is not unrelated to the outcome/benefit issues identified in previous paragraphs. Some individuals will be motivated to create the collaborative effort only on the basis that benefits will flow directly to them personally and professionally. Other people will be motivated to create the collaborative effort if they see the benefits flowing to the organization they represent. Still other people will be motivated to create the effort if they see the benefits flowing to the field of education. The above classification scheme may appear to ignore altruistic motives. This is not entirely the case. The extent to which the above classification scheme includes an altruistic motive is most clearly captured in the motivation to create the effort on the assumption that the benefits will flow to the field.

In any one individual there will be elements of all three types of motivation to collaborate. However, the source of the prime motivation has serious implications for the creation of the collaborative effort. Individuals who are motivated to collaborate based on the benefits flowing directly to themselves will have less tolerance for the ambiguity of the benefits than those individuals motivated by the benefits flowing to either the organization or the field. Those individuals motivated by benefits flowing to the organization will have less tolerance for ambiguity than those motivated by seeing the benefits of collaboration flowing to the field.

The effect of factor (d), the mobility of resources, is reasonably straightforward. A continuum represented on one end by people and organizations with uncommitted resources and represented on the other end by organizations and people whose total resources are presently committed, represents the kind of decisions that must be made by individuals and organizations as they think about collaboration. Obviously, the preferred situation would be one near the end of the continuum which has resources that have not been committed. This, however, is probably the case for very few. Most people and organizations will have to think carefully about how they can either reallocate existing resources or how they can have existing resources serve double duty.

The effect of factor (e), the ability to avoid defeat in the creation of the partnership by interest vested in existing social relationships, is a crucial factor. If the collaboration is seen by its creators as competing with existing social arrangements they value, they will not support it. If a school system and a university have established a functional working relationship and they see the new effort at collaboration as replacing this

relationship, not only will they not support the effort, but they may work actively against it. The example just given is at the local level, but the same argument holds for both the state and the national level. That is, the collaboration is probably doomed from the beginning if it is seen by people as competing with organizations they value such as AASA and AERA.

The five factors of motivation are related directly to liability of newness. The more a new organizational form is unlike existing organizational forms the greater its liability of newness. If the new organizational form is high on liability of newness, then a) the more difficult it is for people to see it as an alternative, b) the harder it is for people to see it as worth the trouble of building, c)the greater the task for people to see benefits from it going to those they value, d)the harder it is to find the resources to build it and e)the more likely people are to stay with the existing order.

Conditions, Motivations and Models

Although there is presently little argument about the need for or value of collaboration, there is disagreement about what "counts" as collaboration. And, this disagreement is not simply a semantic argument, for what one "counts" as collaboration has fundamental implications for the purposes to be served, the types of goals which can be achieved, the kinds of commitment and structures required to achieve those goals, and the types of rewards and degree of return one can expect from the collaborative effort. Put differently, what one perceives collaboration to be is the critical determinant of one's expectations of the collaborative process; and, of course, if and when individuals and/or organizations enter into arrangements, collaborative or otherwise, with differing expectations, conflict, perhaps serious conflict, may arise. Obviously, therefore, what is meant by collaboration must be clear to all parties from the beginning.

In clarifying the definition of "collaboration," researchers for the past decade have attempted to distinguish between collaboration and cooperation (Hord, 1986). Hord (1986) defines the terms as follows:

> Cooperation--a term that assumes that two or more parties, each with separate and autonomous programs, agree to work together in making all such programs more successful.
>
> Collaboration--a term that implies that the parties involved share responsibility and authority for basic policy decisions. (These policy decisions typically relate to joint planning, joint implementation, and joint evaluation).

These distinctions between cooperation and collaboration are useful in examining the models described below of partnership efforts between universities and public school systems. These models, although derived from a review of the general literature on university-public school collaboration, are at the same time fundamental adaptations of Wiley and Branch's university-public school collaboration models in teacher education (1979). One should view the four models as on a continuum beginning with cooperation, as defined above, and ending with collaboration, as defined above.

Time Allocation Model

Figure I

The time allocation model, depicted schematically in Figure I, is a type of partnership which is strictly cooperative in nature. Hord's cooperation model (1986) aptly describes all aspects of the time allocation model. In Hord's terms, the processes involved in this model are as follows:

> 1. Organization X approaches organization Y and receives permission to complete a task (e.g., place student teachers, conduct research).
>
> 2. X completes the task with the help, tolerance, and cooperation of Y but without much contribution of resources from Y.
>
> 3. X reports to Y on its results, findings, or whatever it projected as a result of the task; that is X develops a "product" on its own but as a result of the cooperation of Y.
>
> 4. X conveys information to Y at occasional intervals. X determines the nature of communication, although X also responds to requests from Y.
>
> 5. X provides resources and expertise. Y provides access, setting and situation.
>
> 6. X arranges funds, may even pay Y for contributions.
>
> 7. We/they process mode develops; unilateral leadership is characteristic.
>
> 8. Central control continues in each organization.
>
> 9. X gets its product. Y may be able to use it, or Y may simply benefit from a sense of altruism or social contribution.
>
> (Hord, 1986, pp. 24-25)

The time allocation model is a "marriage of convenience." It represents "collaborative" arrangements as they have traditionally occurred between universities and public school systems. University students have contact with actual classroom and school and/or school system situations; university faculty may or may not spend some time in the field supervising these students; and faculty make themselves available, if needed, to assist local school districts in designing and implementing workshops and other activities. Classroom teachers, principals and public school supervisors have contact with education students and university supervisors.

There are two basic assumptions underlying this model. First is the assumption that the "rubbing of shoulders" between university and public school personnel should improve university/field relationships. Second, there is the assumption that "more is better." That is, an increase in time

spent on cooperative efforts means that improvement results.

There are several potential problems with this model. First, as is obvious from the above description, the issue addressed is not quality of time but rather quantity of time. Increased effort does not necessarily mean improved quality of programs. Second, no serious attempt is given to diagnosing outcomes of the partnership arrangement and hence making modifications based on needs. Finally, there is no provision for training (or retraining) university or public school personnel to meet any changing demands.

In summary, the time allocation model represents traditional collaborative efforts between universities and public school systems. There are no provisions for university faculty and public school personnel to jointly define expectations so that mutual benefits could be more effectively realized. Relationships are not antagonistic, but neither are they particularly beneficial.

Incidental Collaboration Model

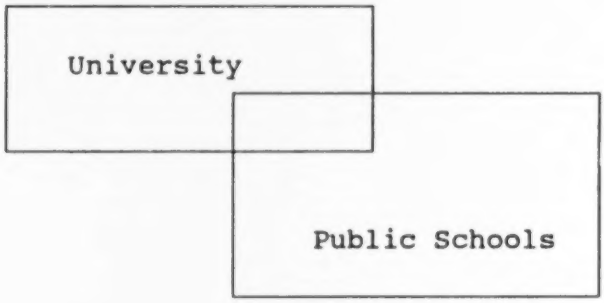

Figure II

Primarily this is a model of cooperation although there is some degree of collaboration between some university faculty and some public school personnel. This collaboration is, however, relatively informal and is directed toward a specific target. For example, a program or course may be jointly developed by university personnel and field personnel who use both sites and share resources. Planning, implementation, and evaluation of such a program are collaboratively accomplished through mutual agreement by the involved personnel in both systems.

The assumptions underlying the incidental collaboration model are:

1) The creation of formal and informal linkages between a university and the public schools is necessary for program improvement in both systems.

2) When there is cooperation regarding resources, personnel, program planning and evaluation, both systems "win."

3) Conventional governance structures are appropriate.

4) Specific goals are achieved with minimum risk and at minimum cost.

A potential problem with this model is that since collaborative arrangements are developed informally, at least initially, there may be confusion as to specific responsibilities. A second potential problem is that the kind of rewards that should or can be offered for participation is often unclear.

Furthermore, administrative support for the new or modified role definitions for participants may not exist at either the university or within the public school system.

Joint Governance Model

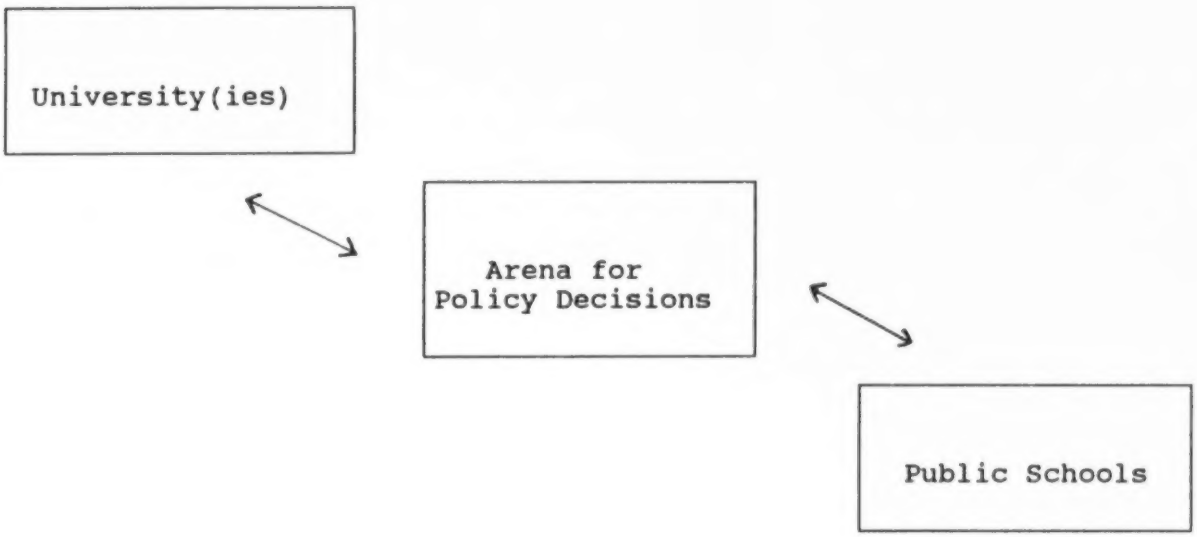

Figure III

This model differs dramatically from the first two models described above. That is, this model has crossed that imaginary line on the continuum where cooperation becomes collaboration. Specifically, this model operates at an institutional level and is based on the assumption of high level administrative support, parity of authority, joint financing, and mutual trust and respect, not simply between and among individuals but between and among organizations. The joint governance model provides for a policy board, comprised of members from all the involved organizations, which establishes overall goals and expectations for collaboration and the policies necessary to achieve those goals. The goals may be short term or long term, general or specific, complex or simple. The collaborators may be many or few. The important point is that there is agreement at an institutional level about what the goals and policies are.

Here again the work of Hord (1986) is useful. The processes Hord describes in his collaboration model serve to further define the joint governance model. Those processes are:

1. Organizations agree on an exchange of tasks, each offering the other a product or service.

2. Organizations join forces to plan and execute the design of a shared project. A "joint staff" system develops.

3. Organizations agree on projected results, outcomes, products, services. Shared goals are developed and a plan of action outlined.

4. Communication roles are established and definite channels are created for interaction across the organizations concerning the joint project.

5. All involved organizations contribute staff time and other resources.

6. Mutual funding is obtained.
7. "We" process mode develops.

8. All involved organizations take action and risks.

9. Dispersed leadership develops.

10. Both organizations share in a product or service that would not have been possible with each organization operating independently.

11. The public gains greater benefit from the joint effort than each separate organization could have offered.

12. Each organization can experience an expansion of possibilities without having to "spread thin."

(Hord, 1986)

The joint governance model of university-public school collaboration has become increasingly prominent in recent years with a number of examples in existence around the country. The specific form of such collaboration may vary considerably based on the purpose for the collaboration and the number of partners involved; and as indicated above, the collaborative effort may be highly specific and targeted toward a particular group or it may be quite broad and complex, aimed not simply at individuals or groups of individuals, but entire organizations. For example, the purposes of collaboration may range from "simply" setting up collaborative structures for dialogue and the sharing of ideas between public school and university personnel, to programs designed for the professional development of teachers and administrators, to research and development projects aimed at fundamental issues of educational reform and institutional change. Partners may range from one college or university collaborating with a cluster of schools to several colleges and universities collaborating with a cluster of school systems. It should be understood, however, that the complexity of goals to be achieved and the number and type of partners involved are discrete variables. For example, one university and a cluster of schools may be working toward fundamental institutional change, whereas several universities and public school systems might collaborate to achieve a much less complex and comprehensive goal. What all of these collaborative efforts have in common, however, is that superordinate goals and overall policies are established by all partners at an institutional level.

Potential problems with the joint governance model include the following:

1) Universities may see the model as requiring them to "give up territory."

2) Reallocation of resources from universities and public schools to the consortium may be seen by some as negative rather than positive.

3) Trust between the involved institutions develops very slowly.

4) People in roles and positions that typically do not make decisions together must work out an arrangement in which roles are clearly defined and decisions are respected.

Consortium Center Model

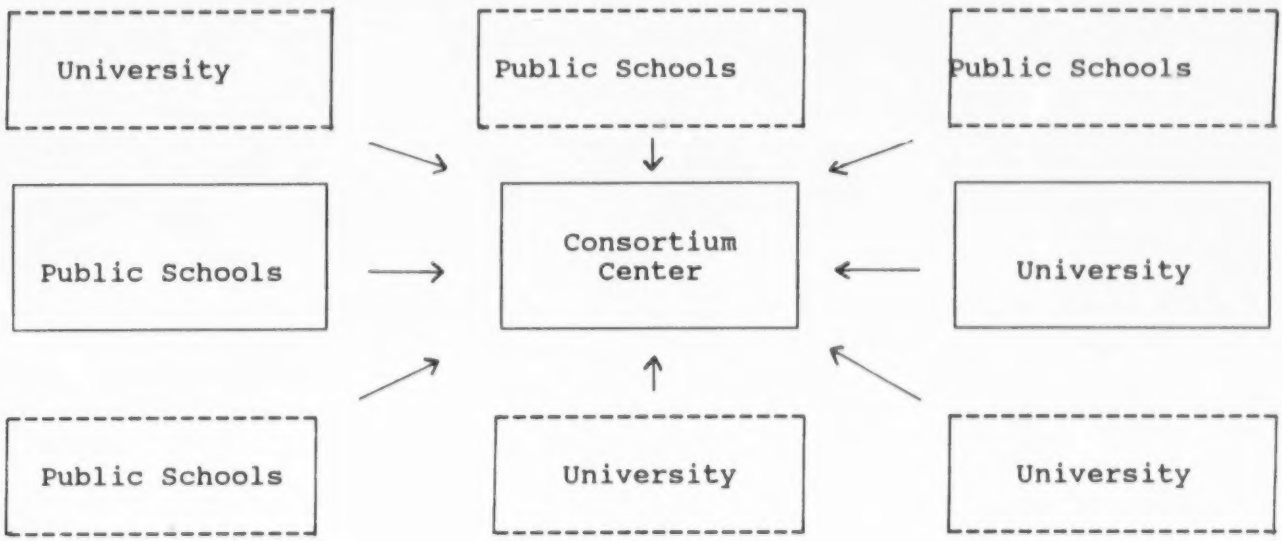

Figure IV

The consortium center model,[2] although in some ways may be viewed as being at the extreme right hand side of the cooperation-collaboration continuum, in other ways may best be viewed as representing more of a difference in type of collaboration than degree of collaboration. This model differs from the three previously described models in that the consortium is a fully functioning, autonomous unit. Involved in the policy and decision making functions are representatives of each participating organization as well as others directly or indirectly involved with education (e.g., the State Department of Public Education, community leaders, parents). This is the kind of collaboration John Goodlad has called for in terms of teacher education. He says that teacher education institutions are seriously threatened by the disaffection and sometimes outright hostility that educators in the public schools of the nation express toward them. In Goodlad's words, "We need fundamental change. We need to enter an experimental mode in teacher education, perhaps in the direction of a new kind of institution -- a collaborative research and training institution that serves as a half-way house between the university and the schools" (De Bevoise, 1986, p.9). We could not find an example in the literature of this model.

[2]The dotted lines indicate that any number of universities or public schools may be involved in the consortium center.

As with the other models of cooperation/collaboration, the consortium center model has the potential for a number of problems. These problems may include:

1) Loss of traditional "territory" which may be threatening to all organizations involved.

2) Adjustment to a "third world" of the education system which may affect other agencies at local, regional, and state levels.

3) A complex decision making process which may pose insurmountable problems.

4) A size which itself may cause difficulties in dissemination, coordination, and control.

Summary of Models

In summary, each of the models presented above represents various degrees of adaptation to demands for cooperation-collaboration. Each model has its strengths and each it potential for problems. Each of the models has value; each serves a unique purpose. Each requires different input and each yields different output. The nature of a cooperative/collaborative relationship depends in the end on the specific goals that the involved parties hope to achieve. The overall goal of improving the way children learn in school, which should be at the heart of university-public school cooperation and collaboration, necessarily involves the entire continuum of connecting relationships. Formal relationships often serve to coordinate and focus informal relationships. The reverse, however, is also true: relationships that begin formally can become informal and develop into what De Bevoise (1986) calls "the often unseen but intricate webbing that links members of two institutions" (p.10).

Conclusions

It is the purpose of this section to relate the "liability of newness" framework and motivations to organize presented earlier in this paper to the four models and to propositions about collaboration found in the literature. We will discuss the models as they relate to the framework generally and then discuss, in some detail, the specifics of the models as they relate to the four factors of "liability of newness". Next we relate ten principles from the literature to the conditions of motivation.

Social Conditions

In the discussion of the four models, we have placed them on a cooperation/collaboration continuum. If one thinks of "liability of newness" on a continuum, with one end of the continuum defined as very low in liability and the other end as very high in liability, then the four models fit the continuum of liability of newness in the same order they fit the cooperation/collaboration continuum. The models fit in this order because as one moves along the continuum each of the four factors-new roles, benefits, strangers and services, related to "liability of newness" increases in both

degree and kind. Motivations, as we have describe earlier in this paper, are directly tied to liability of newness. As one moves along the liability of newness continuum, the degree of ambiguity and uncertainty increases for both the individuals and organizations involved in the effort. This ambiguity and uncertainty exists in a number of areas.

As mentioned earlier in this paper, it is necessary to think about the four factors of "liability of newness" when considering the models. Although elements of all four factors may be present in any one situation, the ideal of a "best fit" will provide more information concering the potential success of the effort. Individuals who are motivated primarily by benefits flowing directly to themselves either personally or professionally will be relatively unwilling to put themselves in ambiguous and uncertain situations. Thus, they will be more willing and able to engage in cooperation than collaboration; that is, they will reach some mutual agreement about their work with other individuals and/or organizations in order for the work of each to be more successful, but neither their modes of thinking nor behaving will change substantially. Their personal work would simply be accomplished in a more convenient and somewhat more effective manner. These individuals would be particularly favored toward the time allocation model and possibly even the incidental collaboration model. For these people, these two models would provide the most satisfying strategies. They also provide the easiest and most convenient way for university professors to fulfill their obligation to do research and provide service. Individuals motivated by benefits flowing to themselves most likely would be unable, or at least unwilling, to participate in the joint governance or consortium center models. Although individual benefits <u>may</u> be derived from collaborative efforts based on these models, they are indirect and do not come in the short term. Furthermore, the more collaborative an effort becomes, the less clear it becomes who is responsible for what.

Individuals capable of dealing with a large degree of "liability of newness" would not be unwilling, at least at times, to participate in the time allocation model, but would be most likely to want to accomplish their work through the incidental collaboration and joint governance models. Each of these models provides the means by which the involved organizations can better accomplish their goals and purposes. A summer science teachers' institute jointly planned, implemented, and evaluated by university and public school personnel would be an example of the incidental collaboration model. Internships, as they are typically implemented, are another example. The intent of the Consortium for the Advancement of Public Education (CAPE) in southeastern North Carolina is an example which fits the joint governance model. A major purpose of CAPE is to build stronger professional relationships between area schools and universities as a means of addressing educational issues of concern to both groups. Efforts have been focused in such areas as faculty and staff development needs, school reform, and the sharing of resources.

Individuals capable of dealing with the largest degree of "liability of newness" will be most willing to collaborate through the joint governance model or the consortium center model. It is through these models that the pursuit of goals can have the most systemic impact.

As one moves along the continuum from cooperation to collaboration, new roles and relationships must be developed between and among the individuals and organizations involved. There is uncertainty and ambiguity involved in this as it is not clear in the beginning who is responsible for what. This leads to high costs in terms of time, worry, and conflict. These factors lead to

communication problems and temporary inefficiency.

In terms of the external enviroment, two factors are of particular importance along the continuum. First, as one moves further toward collaboration, there is a heavier and heavier reliance on social relations among strangers. This means that trusting relationships are much more precarious in collaborative as opposed to cooperative relationships. Second, as one moves toward collaboration, one of the main resources of cooperative relationships, that is, a set of stable ties to the environment, becomes less and less available. To explain further, there are generally two adoption units for a new practice or product--the producer and the consumer. In cooperative relationships, "customers" know how to use the services of the organizations involved. They have built systems for using the old products or services, are familiar with how to order such products or services, know how the quality and price compares with that of other orgaizations, and know the people they have to deal with--whom to call to get action for instance. As one moves toward collaborative relationships, characteristics of both the customer and product or sevice become less and less clear to the point that frequently one is unclear as to who is the customer and who is providing the product or service.

Given the above discussion, it is important to be very conscientious in the early stages to assure that the collaboration will pursue valuable and important functions but not those functions that are presently being met or carried out by existing social arrangements; unless, of course, the purpose is to replace existing social relationships. If this is the case, then preparations must be made to deal with the forces that will actively oppose the collaboration. Further it is crucial to be aware of the primary motivation (individual, organizational, field) of individuals to form collaboratives and the implications of those motivations in terms of degree of tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty. The degree of uncertainty will be directly related to those social conditions identified under the label "liability of newness." In addition, very early in the collaborative effort the kind of individual and organizational resources required both for the creation of and the maintenance of the collaboration must be made reasonably clear.

Motivations

In a more specific manner, we were able to identify ten operating principles for collaboration. These principles, while derived from a review of the literature based on case studies of successful collaborative efforts, have theoretical support in terms of the framework provided here and are categorized under the five conditions of motivation.

(a) Better Alternatives

I. Collaborators must recognize that by selecting goals which are ambitious, innovative, and involve some risk of failure, the collaborative is strengthened.

It is often necessary, particularly in the early stages of collaboration, to make the commitment to proceed with the collaborative effort in spite of a variety of ambiguities. Such adventure, however, tends to make the partners more cohesive (Clark, 1984).

II. Collaborators must recognize common problems and develop common goals.

All involved institutions must recognize that they have mutual problems and concerns that can be addressed more effectively through collaborative arrangements than through independent action. Collaboration must be understood and accepted as a sustained process of mutually respected dialogue during which problems are mutually defined. It is out of this process that goals develop. Once goals are decided upon, there must be strong agreement regarding the high priority which the goals should command. Furthermore, each partner must see a clear relationship between the goals and his or her institution's self-interests. (The work of Bailey (1986), Gifford (1986, 1987), Vivian (1986), Clark (1984), Pine (1984), and Maeroff (1983) is reflected in this principle.)

III. Collaborators must have parity.

Parity is nowhere more important than in terms of governance. The partners have agreed to collaborate in order to pursue common goals more effectively than each could do independently. Each partner is essential, therefore, for the whole to work. Thus, no partner can claim to have a corner on knowledge, solutions, or policy making. (This principle is based on the work of Nur (1986), Clark (1984), and Maeroff (1983).)

(b) Predictable Future Benefits

IV. Collaborators must have a long term view.

Education collaboratives cannot be built overnight. There are many problems involved in the development of authentic partnerships, especially authentic relationships between universities and public schools. University faculty are often seen by school personnel as impractical gatekeepers of theory. Professors, on the other hand, often see teachers as having no theoretical understanding of what they are doing. Overcoming preconceptions and stereotypes and building a basis for effective collaboration takes time and patience. "Each representative of each constituency has to be given time to express his/her personal and institutional points of view and to absorb the views of other" (Pine, 1984, p.13). Collaborators must exhibit professional respect for those from the "other" institution. Where mutual respect is lacking, collaboration cannot occur. (This principle is reflected in the work of De Bevoise (1986), Bailey (1986), Smith(1985-86, 1986), Heil (1986), and Pine (1984)).

(c) Benefits to a Valued Group

V. Collaborators must assess, describe, and publicize achievement of objectives.

Full or partial achievement of objectives must be measured. Positive results provide partners with a clear, early, and on-going sense of productivity and positive aspirations for the future. Partners must be convinced that there is enough to be gained to make up for the extra time added to already rigorous schedules. (This principle is particularly based on the work of Bailey (1986), Gifford (1986, 1987), and Clark (1984).)

VI. Collaborators must work toward consumer satisfaction.

Schools and universities should each consider the other institution as a consumer of their services. Often schools and universities list their goals only in terms of their own needs, and they develop a statement of common purpose that means something different to each partner (Sarason, 1982). If they understand what each institution hopes to derive from the collaborative effort in the beginning, and each institution then works to meet the needs of it's consumer- partner, there will more likely be opportunities for further collaboration rather than frustration from working at cross-purposes (De Bevoise, 1986).

(d) Mobility of Resources

VII. Collaborators must have institutional commitment of resources.

There is need for a hard-nosed assessment of the time and other resources required to do the job and then a plan for redirecting existing resources, consolidating resources, and/or discovering new mutually beneficial resources. If adequate support is not available, the collaboration should wait. In Gifford's words, "the ownership of the efforts and the consequent change belong to those who commit their resources to the effort" (Gifford, 1987, p. 419). When a program is in a budget, it gets attention and is taken seriously (Vivian, 1986). So long as a collaborative effort exists solely because of external funding, it is not part of the institutional life of the participants and thus, any improvements in thinking, in structure, and in knowledge will remain temporary at best (Gifford, 1987).

Planning for adequate and appropriate staffing is equally as important as planning for funding. Collaborative efforts can be impeded from the university side by FTE requirements and rigid semester schedules (not to mention budget restraints) and from the public school side by inflexibility of teacher time and work responsibilities and inflexibility of school board approved budgets. For collaboratives to be effective, however, school systems and universities must be prepared to give faculty additional stipends and/or reduced work loads for participation in the collaborative effort (Hillman, 1987).

University-public school collaboratives have few full-time staff members. An executive director, program coordinator, and secretary are typical. The actual implementation of projects is carried out by task forces comprised of university and public school personnel who maintain full employment in their institution but who have some portion of their work load (e.g., 25%, 50%) given over to collaborative activities.

VIII. Collaboration must start with high level administrative support.

For significant collaboration to occur between the staffs of two or more institutions, there must be unequivocal top level institutional support. It is the top administrators who can remove bureaucratic impediments to collaborative projects and provide resources, incentives, and rewards for the collaborative effort. Furthermore, at least one representative of each participating organization must have sufficient authority (or public authorization) to act in power positions and to be credible as a decision maker and resource allocator in meetings of the collaborative. (This

principle is particularly reflected in the writing of Gifford (1986, 1987), De Bevoise (1986), and Clark (1984).

(e) Ability to Avoid Defeat

IX. Collaborators must have realistic expectations.

University-public school collaborators need to have energy, enthusiasm, commitment, sensitivity, and good intentions to develop successful partnerships, but they also need to know what to expect. They need to know that in the course of developing a collaborative relationship participants typically pass through several stages of development. These stages, identified by Trubowitz (1986) as 1) hostility and skepticism, 2) lack of trust, (3) period of truce, 4) mixed approval, 5) acceptance, 6) regression, and 7) continuing progress, are normal. Failure to recognize that they exist, however, may lead to unrealistic aspirations, frustration, or premature acceptance of defeat. An awareness of the stages, on the other hand, may lead to persistence and perseverance in making the collaborative effort successful (Gifford, 1986). Developing genuine public school - university collaboratives is like trying to get dinosaurs to do a ballet. Without a clear perception of how the dinosaurs move, collaborators could easily give up in despair. Through mutual understanding and trust, however, even dinosaurs can dance (De Bevoise, 1986).

X. Collaborators must recognize each other's capacities and constraints.

Each collaborating organization has different capacities and faces different constraints in making the collaborative work. These must be mutually recognized and appreciated. Recognition of unique capacities leads to more creative ways of thinking about and planning ways in which to achieve the agreed upon goals and objectives. Recognition of unique constraints prevents partners from slipping into a blaming mode when one partner or another cannot get something done. For example, it must be recognized that while school system personnel tend to respond quickly to bureaucratic authority, university faculty tend to resist such authority. A dean is more likely than a superintendent to need faculty consensus for a particular action. If both need consensus, it will generally take the dean longer to get it. (The work of De Bevoise (1986), Nur (1986), Gifford (1984, 1986,1987), Clark (1984), and Sarason (1971) is reflected in this principle.)

A Final Word

The framework presented has proven to be useful in categorizing the existing literature and analyzing the four models. We encourage others to improve upon the framework and provide us a better tool to understand and implement collaborative efforts.

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